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Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ACDE-00 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 EUR-12 H-02

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TO USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0902
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 MBFR VIENNA 0121

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, NATO
SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AD HOC GROUP REPORT TO NAC

AD HOC GROUP ON MARCH 19 APPROVED IN GENERAL TERMS FOLLOWING OUTLINE FOR USE BY NETHERLANDS REP (DE VOS) IN MAKING AD HOC GROUP REPORT TO NAC ON MARCH 21. DE VOS WILL DRAW ON MATERIAL IN THE OUTLINE, NOT NECESSARILY USING IT IN FULL. DE VOS WILL BE ASSISTED BY US REP AND GREEK REP SPYRIDAKIS.

IN DISTINCTION TO THE CASE OF WRITTEN REPORTS TO NAC, THE AD HOC GROUP DOES NOT ATTEMPT A WORD FOR WORD APPROVAL OF THESE OUTLINES, WHICH ARE CONSIDERED AS SPEAKING NOTES ON WHICH REPORTING REPRESENTATIVE WILL DRAW.

BEGIN TEXT:

OUTLINE FOR ORAL REPORT TO NAC ON 21ST MARCH, 1975

A. COVERAGE

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LAST REPORT FEBRUARY 28, 1975.

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THIS REPORT COVERS PERIOD THROUGH MARCH 20, 1975.

B. GENERAL.

AS WAS TO BE EXPECTED, THE PERIOD COVERED BY THIS REPORT WAS AGAIN UNEVENTFUL AND MARKED BY LACK OF ANY SIGN OF REAL MOVEMENT.

EASTERN SIDE CONTINUED TO CREATE SEMBLANCE OF FLEXIBILITY AND INITIATIVE THROUGH FORMAL TABLING OF THEIR LATEST PROPOSALS - INTRODUCED AS "AMENDMENTS AND ADDITIONS" TO THE NOVEMBER 8, 1973 DRAFT AGREEMENT - IN PLENARY SESSION, FOLLOWED BY LEAKAGE TO THE PRESS THUS CONFIRMING THE MAINLY PROPAGANDISTIC NATURE OF THIS MOVE.

BY STRESSING THE COMPREHENSIVENESS AND FLEXIBLE NATURE OF THEIR ENTIRE PROGRAM OF PROPOSALS SUBMITTED SO FAR (NOVEMBER '73 DRAFT, ISRP, "FREEZE" AND "AMENDMENTS AND ADDITIONS" TO NOVEMBER '73 DRAFT) EAST PROBABLY WANTS AT ONE AND THE SAME TIME TO BE ABLE TO EMPHASIZE THE NUMBER AND VARIETY OF ITS "INITIATIVES" AND TO PREEMPT FURTHER WESTERN CRITICISM - RAISED IN RELATION TO ISRP AND FREEZE - THAT EAST SEEMED NO LONGER INTERESTED IN SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS.

WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES REJECTED LATEST EASTERN PROPOSALS PUT FORWARD ON FEBRUARY 25, AS PURELY PROCEDURAL AND UNSIGNIFICANT IN SCOPE. IN THEIR OWN PRESENTATIONS, BOTH IN PLENARY AND INFORMAL SESSIONS, WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES FOCUSSED ON NEED TO APPLY THE AGREED PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY IN THE NEGOTIATIONS THROUGH EVAUATION OF ACTUAL EFFECTS WHICH REDUCTION PROPOSALS WOULD HAVE ON SECURITY SITUATION OF EITHER SIDE.

CONTINUED WESTERN EFFORTS TO INVOLVE THE EAST IN A DISCUSSION ON DATA BROUGHT NO CHANGE IN EASTERN POSITION THAT QUESTIONS OF PRINCIPLE HAVE TO BE SOLVED BEFORE DATA EXCHANGE CAN TAKE PLACE.

C. DISCUSSIONS IN PLENARY AND INFORMAL SESSIONS

PLENARY AND INFORMAL SESSIONS WERE HELD ACCORDING TO ESTABLISHED FREQUENCY OF ONE EACH WEEK.

PLENARY SESSIONS: MARCH 6, MARCH 13 AND MARCH 20, 1975.
INFORMAL SESSIONS: MARCH 4, MARCH 11 AND MARCH 18, 1975.

MAIN SUBJECTS DISCUSSED:

1. LATEST EASTERN PROPOSALS.

WESTERN REPS REJECTED LATEST EASTERN PROPOSALS IN THE INFORMAL

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SESSION OF MARCH 4, 1975. THE UK REPRESENTATIVE PRESENTED THE JOINT VIEW OF THE ALLIES THAT THESE MODIFICATIONS REPRESENTED ONLY A SUPERFICIAL REARRANGEMENT OF THE COMPONENTS OF THE ORIGINAL EASTERN REDUCTION APPROACH WITHOUT CHANGING ITS BASIC CONTENT, WHICH REMAINED UNACCEPTABLE TO THE WEST.

IN THE FOLLOWING PLENARY SESSION OF MARCH 6, 1975, POLISH REPRESENTATIVE STRULAK FORMALLY TABLED THE EASTERN PROPOSALS UNDER THE HEADING OF "AMENDMENTS AND ADDITIONS" TO THE DRAFT AGREEMENT OF 8 NOVEMBER 1973. POLISH STATEMENT ALSO DEALT WITH MERITS OF THE 1973 DRAFT AND STRESSED "IMPORTANCE OF TREATING THESE (NEW) PROPOSALS AS PART OF THIS PROGRAM". AS HE SAID, EAST INTENDED IN THIS WAY TO STRESS ITS PRIMARY INTEREST IN SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS, TO FOCUS DEBATE ON THIS CENTRAL QUESTION. STATEMENT THUS CLEARLY AIMED AT PREEMPTING FURTHER WESTERN CRITICISM PREVIOUSLY RAISED IN REPLY TO ISRP AND FREEZE PROPOSALS, THAT EAST SEEMED NO LONGER INTERESTED IN SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS. STRULAK ALSO INDICATED THAT ISRP AND "FREEZE" WERE STILL ON THE TABLE.

AFTER FURTHER DISCUSSION ON THIS SUBJECT IN THE INFORMAL SESSION OF MARCH 11, 1975, THE WESTERN SIDE CONFIRMED ITS REJECTION OF THE NEW EASTERN PROPOSAL IN THE PLENARY SESSION OF MARCH 13, 1975.

BOTH IN THE INFORMAL OF MARCH 11 AND IN AN IMPROMPTU REACTION IN PLENARY OF MARCH 13, SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE WENT INTO LENGTHY SEMANTIC EXERCISE IN TRYING TO DEMONSTRATE THAT WESTERN ALLEGATIONS THAT EASTERN PROPOSAL PROVIDED ONLY SOME PURELY PROCEDURAL INNOVATIONS OF LIMITED SCOPE, WAS INCORRECT SINCE EAST HAD OBVIOUSLY TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT "ELEMENTS" WHICH THE WEST ITSELF HAD PREVIOUSLY INDICATED TO BE "SUBSTANTIVE

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PARTS" OF ITS POSITION.

IN INFORMAL MEETING OF MARCH 18, WEST GAVE DETAILED EX-
PLANATION WHY "ELEMENTS" WHICH EAST PRETENDS TO HAVE TAKEN
OVER CANNOT TRUELY BE CONSIDERED "SUBSTANTIVE PARTS" OF
WESTERN POSITION.

2. ISRP AND FREEZE PROPOSALS
FREEZE PROPOSAL RECEIVED ONLY LOW PROFILE TREATMENT.
APART FROM STRULAKS STATEMENT, IT WAS MENTIONED ONLY
PASSINGLY IN INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS. HOWEVER, EASTERN,
ESPECIALLY SOVIET
REPS KEPT THE ISRP ALIVE IN THE INFORMALS, AND MAY
POSSIBLY MAKE FURTHER REVISIONS IN IT.

3. PRINCIPLES
EASTERN SIDE IN BOTH PLENARY AND INFORMAL SESSIONS
REPEATED STANDARD ATTACKS ON WESTERN REDUCTION PROPOSALS
AS NOT BEING IN CONFORMITY WITH DESCRIPTION OF SUBJECT
MATTER OF NEGOTIATIONS AND AGREED PRINCIPLES LAID DOWN IN
THE JUNE 1973 COMMUNIQUE.

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THEY ALSO CONTINUED TO DESCRIBE WESTERN SEARCH FOR
UNILATERAL MILITARY ADVANTAGE AND REFUSAL OF NON-US
WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS TO ACCEPT SPECIFIC REDUCTION
COMMITMENTS FROM THE OUTSET, AS CONSTITUTING THE TWO
MAIN STUMBLING
BLOCS TO PROGRESS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. FOCUS SEEMED TO
BE ON THE LATTER OF THESE TWO, ON WHICH SOVIET
AMBASSADOR SMIRNOVSKY MADE A STRONG ATTACK IN INFORMAL
OF MARCH 11. ALSO A TENDENCY HAS BECOME APPARENT TO
QUESTION THE GOOD FAITH OF WESTERN PARTICIPANTS IN THE
NEGOTIATIONS. THIS HAS BEEN CLEARLY REFUTED BY WESTERN
SIDE AS BEING IMPRODUCTIVE APPROACH. ON THE OTHER HAND,
STRONG CRITICISM OF THE ALLEGEDLY UNACCEPTABLE ASPECTS
OF THE WESTERN PHASING CONCEPT AT THIS STAGE WOULD SEEM
TO BE A NATURAL COROLLARY TO
EASTERN PRESENTATION OF THEIR LATEST PROPOSALS AS
CONSTITUTING A TRUE COMPROMISE IN THE QUESTION OF

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PHASING.
WESTERN PRESENTATIONS IN PLENARY SESSION OF MARCH
13 AND IN THE INFORMAL SESSIONS WERE MAINLY FOCUSSED
ON THE WAY IN WHICH THE AGREED PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMIN-
ISHED SECURITYSHOULD BE APPLIED IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

THIS PRINCIPLE IMPLIES THAT REDUCTION PROPOSALS MUST BE
EVALUATED ON THE BASIS OF THE ACTUAL AND OBJECTIVE
EFFECTS
WHICH IMPLEMENTATION WOULD HAVE ON THE SECURITY
SITUATION OF EITHER SIDE. ACCOUNT TO BE TAKEN OF THE
EXISTING DISPARITY IN GROUNDFORCES, CONTRACTUALISATION
OF WHICH IN AN AGREEMENT WOULD MEAN RELINQUISHING WESTERN
RIGHT TO MAKE GOOD THESE DISPARITIES, THUS DIMINISHING
WESTERN SECURITY. FUTHERMORE, ACCOUNT TO BE TAKEN ALSO
OF NEW ADVANTAGES WHICH EAST WOULD DERIVE FROM ANY
REDUCTION AGREEMENT THROUGH EXISTING GEOGRAPHIC
DISPARITIES AND THE FACT THAT THE WEIGHT OF SOVIET
MILITARY POTENTIAL WOULD BE INCREASED IN RELATION TO
THE MILITARY POTENTIAL OF THE WEST. THIS IMPLIED THAT
WEST WOULD HAVE TO OBTAIN COMPENSATION (LARGER EASTERN
REDUCTIONS LEADING TO A COMMON CEILING FOR GROUND
FORCE MANPOWER, AS WELL AS WITHDRAWAL OF US SOLDIERS
AS INDIVIDUALS WITH THEIR EQUIPMENT BEING STORED IN THE
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AREA).

EASTERN REPLIES TO THESE WESTERN ARGUMENTS WERE THAT
WEST WAS DRAWING IN EXTRANEOUS FACTORS NOT RELEVANT
TO THE NEGOTIATIONS (REINFORCEMENT CAPABILITIES ETC..).
THEY ALSO CLAIMED THAT IF REINFORCEMENT CAPABILITIES
WERE MENTIONED, MANY OTHER FACTORS, SUCH AS
MOBILIZATION CAPABILITY WOULD HAVE TO BE RAISED, WHICH
THEY DID NOT WANT, AS THEY HAVE CONCEDED THAT RESERVES
FALL OUTSIDE THE SCOPE OF NEGOTIATIONS, HOWEVER,
THE EAST SO FAR SEEMED TO HAVE DIFFICULTY IN FINDING
SUBSTANTIVE ARGUMENTS TO COUNTER OUR PRESENTATIONS
ON THIS MATTER.

IN CONTINUED DISCUSSION ON THE DEFINITION OF
MUTUALITY WEST REPUDIATED EASTERN CONCEPT THAT "MUTUAL/
MEANS ACCEPTING OBLIGATIONS WHICH ARE IDENTICAL AND
WHICH GO INTO EFFECT SIMULTANEOUSLY.
WESTERN POSITION WAS THAT "MUTUALITY" IN OBLIGATIONS
IMPLIES THAT THE OUTCOME TO WHICH THESE OBLIGATIONS
WOULD LEAD SHOULD BE EQUITABLE AND HAVE
EQUIVALENT TOTAL EFFECT FOR EACH SIDE.

4. DATA

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FURTHER WESTERN EFFORTS TO PRESS FOR DISCUSSION
ON DATA MET WITH STANDARD EASTERN REPLY THAT THEY
WOULD NOT BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS DATA UNTIL AFTER
RESOLUTION OF PRINCIPLES. WESTERN CHARGES THAT EASTERN
PROPOSALS BASED ON PERCENTAGES AND LACKING NUMERICAL
DATA WERE NOT SUFFICIENTLY SPECIFIC TO BE EVALUATED,
LED TO EASTERN COUNTERCHARGES THAT WESTERN PROPOSALS
DID NOT EVEN MENTION REDUCTION PERCENTAGES FOR INDI-
VIDUAL NON-US DIRECT PARTICIPANTS.

5. OTHER SUBJECTS
PREVIOUS ALLEGATIONS OF WESTERN REINFORCEMENT IN
CONTEXT OF US AND FRG RESTRUCTURING PROGRAMS HAVE
AGAIN BEEN REPEATED IN CONTEXT OF ALREADY MENTIONED
EASTERN EFFORTS TO QUESTION WEWSTERN MOTIVES.

THERE WAS CONTINUED EASTERN EMPHASIS ON
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UNSATISFACTORY NATURE OF THE COLLECTIVE CEILING, SICE
IT PROVIDED INSUFFICIENT ASSURANCE AGAINST INCREASED
BY INDIVIDUAL WESTERN FORCES. IN THE WESTERN PLENARY
STATMENT ON MARCH 13, THE POINT WAS MADE THAT
ESTABLISHMENT OF NATIONAL CEILINGS WOULD BE DETRIMENTAL
TO THE SECURITY OF THE WEST.

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D. PUBLIC INFORMATION POSTURE.

PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT OF LATEST EASTERN PROPOSALS IN GENERAL TERMS - "NEW IMPORTANT CONSIDERATIONS" - IMMEDIATELY AFTER PLENARY ON 5 MARCH. SUBSEQUENTLY, EASTERN SOURCES IN VIENNA LEAKED DETAILS OF THE PROPOSALS. THEY WERE TO SHOW (1) THAT THE EASTERN PLAN WAS NOT JUST PROCEDURAL (TO COUNTER WESTERN REBUTTALS TO THAT EFFECT); (2) THAT IT WENT A LONG WAY TOWARDS MEETING BASIC WESTERN POSITIONS; (3) THAT IT WOULD RESULT IN SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS, AND (4) THAT IT REPRESENTS THE LATEST MANIFESTATION OF EASTERN INITIATIVE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

IN COMPARISON TO THE EAARLIER "FREEZE" LEAK, INITIAL EASTERN AND WESTERN MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE LATEST PROPOSALS WAS SPARSE. WESTERN MEDIA IN PARTICULAR SEEMED TO REFLECT CONFUSION ABOUT THE REAL MEANING OF THE EASTERN PROPOSALS. SUBSEQUENTLY, THE PROPOSALS RECEIVED EXTENSIVE TREATMENT FROM EASTERN MEDIA.

E. ASSESSMENT.

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- NO SIGN OF REAL FLEXIBILITY OR MOVEMENT. DISCUSSION ON RECESS IN WHICH EAST TRIED TO GET AGREEMENT TO 5 WEEK INTERVAL MAY BE CONSIDERED ANOTHER SYMPTOM OF LACK OF URGENCY AT THIS TIME.

1 MAIN AIM OF LATEST PROPOSAL PROBABLY TO REFUTE PREVIOUS WESTERN CRITICISM THAT EAST NO LONGER INTERESTED IN SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS, AND THUS TO RESTORE PUBLIC CREDIBILITY OF EASTERN POSITION IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. IT IS ALSO INTENDED TO DEMONSTRATE EASTERN MOVEMENT AND FLEXIBILITY AND TO MAKE A CONTRAST WITH THE ALLEGED PETRIFIED POSITION OF THE WEST.

- AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, NO ABANDONING OF ISRP AND FREEZE PROPOSALS, WHICH, EVEN IF NOT PARTICULARLY STRESSED AT THIS TIME, LEAVES OPEN ALL OPTIONS FOR THE FUTURE. EAST MAY HOPE TO PERSUADE WEST THAT ISRP IS ONLY BASIS FOR PROGRESS.

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- IF THEIR INTENTION IS INDEED TO MARK TIME, EAST
PROBABLY FEELS COMFORTABLE AND RELAXED IN ITS PRESENT
POSTURE, TAKING ACCOUNT ALSO OF LACK OF NEW WESTERN
INITIATIVES. EAST APPEARS TO BE EXPECTING SUCH MAJOR
NEW INITIATIVES.

- EASTERN SELF-CONFIDENCE IS UNDERLINED BY RELATIVELY HARD
TONE; CHARGES THAT WEST IS OVERLY NEGATIVE TOWARDS EASTERN
INITIATIVES AND FAILS TO RESPOND ADEQUATELY WITH COMPARATIVE
CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS OF ITS OWN; EVEN QUESTIONING GOOD
FAITH OF WESTERN PARTICIPANTS IN NEGOTIATIONS.

- WESTERN ARGUMENTATION ON UNDIMINISHED SECURITY,
DISPARITIES AND NEED FOR "COMPENSATION" SEEMS RATHER
EFFECTIVE. UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES THIS IS NOT LIKELY
TO LEAD TO CHANGES IN EASTERN POSITION, BUT WE MAY HOPE
THAT IN THE LONGER TERM AND WHEN MORE SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIAT-
IONS BECOME POSSIBLE, SOME IMPACT MAY BE FELT.

PROSPECTS.

- NO EXPECTATION OF MOVEMENT; REFER AGAIN TO CONCLUSIONS
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IN AHG REPORT OF NOVEMBER 28, 1974 (PARA 7 OF ANNEX A TO
CM(74)87).

SPRING RECESS.

IT HAS BEEN AGREED WITH EASTERN SIDE THAT SPRINGRECESS
WILL EXTEND FROM 21 APRIL TO 12 MAY. LAST PLENARY SESSION
OF CURRENT ROUND WILL BE HELD ON 17 APRIL, FIRST PLENARY OF
SIXTH ROUND IS SCHEDULED FOR 15 MAY.

IN EASTERN PERIOD, THERE WILL BE A SHORT BREAK ONLY.

PLENARY SESSION DUE TO BE HELD ON 27 MARCH WILL BE ADVANCED
TO TAKE PLACE ON 25 MARCH; NEXT SESSION WILL BE
ON 3 APRIL.

NEXT ORAL REPORT TO NAC.

THE AHG PROPOSES THAT NEXT ORAL REPORT TO NAC WILL
BE GIVEN ON FRIDAY, 18 APRIL 1975. THIS REPORT WILL AT THE
SAME TIME SERVE AS END OF ROUND REPORT FOR 5TH ROUND.

AHG WILL SUBMIT A WRITTEN REPORT IN TIME FOR
SPRING MINISTERIAL MEETINGS.
END TEXT.RESOR

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Message Attributes

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Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ellisoob
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